

The History of the Reformation...



HOW CHRIST
RESTORED
THE GOSPEL
TO HIS
CHURCH

The Cowl Martin Luther

Martin Luther entered the monastery of the Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt on July 17, 1505.¹ He thought he was about to lose...he expected to lose...all contact with the outside world. He believed he was going inside never to come out again. His father believed his son had thrown his life away. But neither of those things was true. It was not, as Churchill would later say, the beginning of the end. It was rather only, **“the end of the beginning.”**

Luther was about to be forged in God’s furnace. He was about to be hammered out on God’s anvil. He was about to be fashioned into an instrument suitable for use in the hands of the Savior. He was about to be transformed from a timid little mouse into a roaring lion...or as Leo X would later say, a wild boar.

Now that kind of transformation is not the sort that ever takes place quickly. Men’s hearts can be changed in a moment but erasing habits and natural inclinations like the innate fear of other men takes longer....sometimes, much longer. That sort of transformation...that sort of work takes time. But that is

never a concern to our God and it ought never to be a real concern or point of worry for any Christian. You see, Our God is a careful workman, a skilled craftsman. He is never in a hurry. He is never anxious about time. He invented time. Sometimes He brings men to maturity and events to fruition quickly but most of the time He is slow and methodical and when He is...we know that He knows what He is doing.

He will not...He cannot...be rushed.

I bring that up because when Luther entered the monastery in Erfurt on July 17, 1505, he was twelve years, three months and fourteen days away from nailing the 95 Theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg. He was twelve years, three months and fourteen days away from shaking the world from a long, dark, dreamless sleep. Of course, in another sense Luther was a whole lifetime away from the door at Wittenberg and before Luther could be made up to the task...before Luther could become the kind of man God could use to start the Reformation...he had to be fashioned...fashioned into something much different than what he was.

Now I think there ought to be a word of encouragement in that for all of us.

Normally, when we believe the great events of life are acted out on a great stage. We tend to think the preparation for those involved was also acted out on a great stage. When we think of a man or woman being fashioned to do great works we tend to think of great settings...we tend to think of something like a prince being prepared to lead his nation by being exposed to the wisdom and practices of a wise and kingly father...or we might think of a general being trained to lead an

army by being exposed to the discipline and tradition of a West Point...but that is not always the tact our God uses. Sometimes, he uses humble settings and humble beginnings to make great men.

God allowed Moses to be trained to read and write in the courts of Pharaoh² but Moses' education took place on the backside of Horeb in the Sinai wilderness. It took place in a hostile environment and a time of isolation.

The Apostle Paul was raised in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel³ but his real education took place in the loneliness of the Arabian Desert.⁴

You see, God sometimes uses isolation and loneliness and sorrow to make a man or a woman fit for an important task.

That was the case with Moses, with David, with Paul and that was the case with Luther. Luther was about to be tossed into the forge of isolation and hammered out on the anvil of despair. And some of you have experienced the same kind of thing. Some of you are lonely. Some of you are poor or very nearly poor. Some of you are tired and yet God has given you the grace to endure and the reason for that is that He has something for you to do and for you to do what He wants to transform you into something different than what you are. And so...you are learning the lesson of the forge and the anvil.

That certainly was what was about to happen to Luther but he was unable to see it coming. He thought...he thought he was escaping from the cares of this life. Later, much later, Luther would write:

We must overcome the world in the world for we are not made for fleeing human company but for living in society and sharing good and evil. As human beings, we must help one another to bear all kinds of human misfortune and the curse that has come upon us. We must be ready to live among wicked people, and there everyone must be ready to prove his holiness instead of becoming impatient and running away. On earth we have to live amid thorns and thistles (Gen. 3:18), in a situation full of temptation, hostility, and misfortune. Hence it does not help you at all to run away from other people; for within you are still carrying the same old scoundrel, the lust and evil appetite that cling to your flesh and blood. Even if you are all alone, with the door locked, you still cannot deny your father and mother; nor can you discard your flesh and blood and leave them on the ground. You have no call to pick up your feet and run away, but to stay put, to stand and battle against every kind of temptation like a knight, and with patience to see it through and to triumph. Therefore we need not forsake the ordinary walks of life in order to keep Christ. ⁵

But that was years later. On July 17, 1505, Luther thought he was escaping the world. He thought going to enjoy peace and tranquility and a life of scholarship and contemplation. But God had something altogether different in mind. God wanted to turn Luther into a man of steel. He wanted to make him impervious to criticism. He wanted to make him resistant to slander. He wanted to dull his sensitivity to the tirades of vicious and unprincipled men and the way He intended to do that was by making him a monk.

So on July 17th 1505, Luther started his journey toward becoming a monk.

Now I am making that point because simply applying and being accepted to a monastery does not make a man a monk. Not every one that sought admission was accepted. If a man was admitted, he was admitted on a trial basis as a **“novice.”** **“Novices”** were on trial or probation for a minimum of one year. During that time, a novice’s commitment and suitability were evaluated

carefully. Many men were turned out after their evaluation. Luther was not turned out. But he was not granted any sort of exception to the regular process on the basis of being a scholar either. He was first a novice...then a monk...and then a priest.

It is important to make that distinction because not every monk in the monastery a priest.

Do you see what I mean?

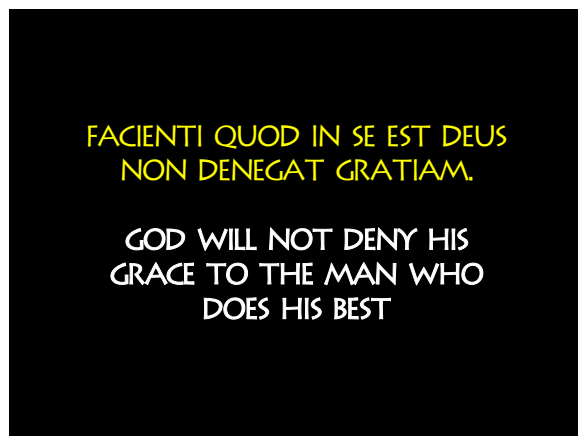
Not every man in the monastery was a monk. Not every monk was a priest. There was a hierarchy. A man might remain a monk his whole life and never become a priest. Now, that would have been a little unusual but it happened. A man was first admitted a novice and then if approved allowed to take the vow of a monk. If he were approved to go on, he was allowed to become a priest.

Anyway, on July 17th, 1505, Luther was admitted as a “**novice.**” That meant that he had to start at the bottom and work his way up. That means he had to do all the regular grunt work regular “**novices**” undertook. He would have gardened. He would have worked in the kitchens. He would have cleaned latrines. But he would have also been instructed in how to pray, how to genuflect, how and when to prostrate himself, how even to walk...both novices and monks were required to walk about with their heads slightly bowed and their eyes pointed toward the ground.⁶

Novices wore clothing similar to that of the regular monks but it was distinguishable. They were not permitted to have visitors, to write or receive

letters without permission, to care for the sick or to attend the regular gatherings of the monks without invitation. The first month in the monastery they were not permitted to speak at all. Their worlds were filled with isolation, study, confession and prayer.

Now what is so remarkable about the novice Martin Luther is that on July 17, 1505 he was not even a Christian. He had no understanding whatsoever of the imputed righteousness of Christ. He had no sense whatsoever of the glories of the doctrine of justification. He was a typical medieval Catholic and by that I mean he believed in a form of **“works righteousness.”** He subscribed to the popular theological maxim of the day which went like this, *“Facienti quod in se est Deus non denegat gratiam.”* Translated it meant something like; **“God will not deny his grace to the man who does his best.”**⁷



It was the medieval equivalent of our own popular American phrase, **“God helps those who help themselves.”** And Luther subscribed to the whole idea...hook, line and sinker. That is, he subscribed to a view that God extends His grace to a sinner only after that sinner has done his best and the best a man could do in medieval Catholicism was to be a monk. In Luther’s view only the

monks were wholly given over to God and because of their commitment to God they were much more likely to be delivered from God's wrath.

Later, Luther would write:

This is the chief abomination of monasticism, we denied the grace of God and put our trust and hope on our holy monkery and not on the pure mercy and grace of Christ, as we had promised and had begun to do in Christian Baptism. For relying on works in order thereby to be justified and sanctified we actually denied God's grace, as St. Paul clearly says: **"Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the Law, ye are fallen from grace."**⁸

Still for all the wrong-headed ideas Luther had about God and about righteousness God required to stand in His presence, God used the experience to make Luther the kind of man he wanted him to be. He did that not by adding embellishments but by stripping away everything that was not essential. I love the way D'Aubigne puts it:

God tried him in small things, that he might learn to remain unshaken in great ones. Besides, to be able to deliver his age from the miserable superstitions under which it groaned, it was necessary for him first to feel their weight. To drain the cup, he must drink it to the very dregs.⁹

Anyway, Luther endured his year's probation. We don't know the exact date of his being received as a monk but it was customary for the event to occur a year and day after becoming a novice. It is both funny and sad to read how the other monks resented him both as a novice and even later as a monk. They resented him because he was in every way their superior in terms of education. The Master's Degree Luther had attained in philosophy was every bit the equivalent

of a modern PhD. The other monks resented him and especially resented his love for study and for books and especially liked to drag him away from his books and to make him join them in begging for food. D'Aubigne writes this:

The monks had *initially* received him with joy. It *gratified* their vanity to see one of the most esteemed doctors of the age abandon the University for their...Order. Nevertheless they treated him harshly, and *gave* him the worst *possible jobs*. They *wanted* to humble the doctor of philosophy, and to teach him that his learning did not *elevate* him above his brethren. They *saw no immediate advantage to the order for him to* devote himself so much to his studies...*They had him* perform the offices of porter, to open and shut the gates, to wind up the clock, to sweep the church, and to clean out the cells...and whenever they...*found him hiding out with his books they forced him to beg for food with them telling him, "Come, come! It is not by studying, but by begging bread, corn, eggs, fish, meat, and money that a monk renders himself useful to the cloister."*¹⁰

But as I said, he endured. Some say he was rescued by the prior of the monastery Johann Von Staupitz. At any rate, a year later, perhaps a year and a day...Luther would have been received as a full-fledged monk. The ceremony would have involved Luther being stripped of novice's garments and being clothed in the habit designated by the order. He then would have then sworn an oath promising to live in poverty and chastity according to the rule of the Holy Father, Augustine and to render obedience to Almighty God, the Virgin Mary and the prior of the monastery.¹¹ He would have then prostrated himself face down on the floor of the church in the form of a cross.¹² He would have been sprinkled with water and would have been received as an innocent child fresh from baptism. The prior would have prayed:

Lord Jesus Christ, who didst deign to cloth thyself in our mortality, we beseech thee out of thine immeasurable goodness to bless the habit which the holy fathers have chosen as a sign of innocence and renunciation. May

this thy servant, Martin Luther, who takes the habit, be clothed also in thine immortality, O thou who lives and reigns with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, God from eternity to eternity. Amen.¹³

Immediately afterward, Luther would have been raised up and would have joined his place in the choir. He would have been from that point on a full-fledged monk. He would have not been able to vote in the affairs of the monastery for another five years and he would have still had to report regularly an older monk. But he was now a genuine monk and no longer a novice. Luther returned his clothes to his family and sent his Master's Degree ring back to the university. He had given up all contact with the outside world.

Luther was given his own room, which was called a cell. His cell was 10'2" x 7'10", a luxurious 79 square feet.¹⁴ He had a bed, a small table, a chair, 2 woolen sheets, a pillow, a blanket and a Latin Bible. He slept in his habit.

I think it is difficult sometimes for us as Protestants this side of the Reformation to appreciate the nature of life in the monastery. It was endless and brutal time of mind-numbing routine interspersed with times of study, devotion and loneliness. Here's what I mean. Beside all of the chores monks had to do and they had to do quite a few, they were required to pray the canonical hours. The canonical hours were prayers prayed during specific times of the day.

The day started somewhere around 4 AM with a prayer service called Matins. Matins included a series of prayers to Mary and the usual twenty-five "**Our Fathers**" and three "**Ave Maria's**." At six a.m. there was the prayers was called "**prime**" because it was said during the first hour of daylight. There was another at nine a.m. That prayer was called "**terce**" because it occurred at the third hour

and the prayer at noon was called **“sext”** being the sixth hour of the day. At three in the afternoon the prayer was called **“nones”** and at six p.m. it was called **“vespers.”** There was a time of prayer at bedtime, eight or nine p.m., called **“compline.”**¹⁵

THE CANONICAL HOURS

MATINS... 4 AM PRAYERS...

PRIME... 6 AM PRAYERS...

TERCE... 9 AM PRAYERS...

SEXT... 12 PM PRAYERS...

NONES... 3 PM PRAYERS...

VESPERS... 6 PM PRAYERS...

COMPLINE... 8 PM PRAYERS...BEDTIME

All monks were required to pray the canonical hours. Only the theologians were allowed to pray their prayers privately. Everyone else prayed their prayers together and the prayers always included twenty-five **“Our Fathers”** and three **“Ave Marias.”**¹⁶ By my count that means at least 175 **“Our Fathers”** and fifteen **“Hail Mary’s”** a day.

THE CANONICAL HOURS

...INCLUDED SAYING 25 “OUR FATHERS”...

...THREE “AVE MARIAS” OR “HAIL MARYS”

...CONCLUDED WITH A “SALVE REGINA”

...AND COULD INCLUDE PRAYING THE PSALMS OR THE ROSARY

In addition to the canonical hours, they were required to attend Masses and say their Rosaries.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of our death. Amen.¹⁷

At the conclusion of the canonical hours they knelt and prayed the *Salve Regina* and the *Ave Maria*.¹⁸

“Save, O Queen, Thou Mother of mercy, our life, our delight, and our hope. To Thee we exiled sons of Eve lift up our cry. To Thee we sigh as we languish in this vale of tears. Be Thou our advocate. Sweet Virgin Mary, pray for us, Thou holy Mother of God.”¹⁹

Monks were also encouraged to pray the Psalter. Sometimes they were made to pray the Psalter as punishment for infractions within the order. Luther, of course, had the Psalter...that is, all of the Psalms memorized...but he later said that he had never prayed either the Psalter or the Lord’s Prayer properly in his life, which is remarkable considering how many times he prayed both.

If a monk was priest, he was, in addition, required to take his turn in saying Masses at the behest of paying sponsors and then, as I said, all of them were permitted to study, assigned manual chores and compelled to beg for their bread.

Luther said later that the rigorous asceticism very nearly killed him. He complained about stomach problems endlessly in his later life and he always believed his digestive track was ruined both by the many fasts practiced and the improper nutrition he received as a monk.²⁰

Still, Luther was a very good monk. He tried to sleep without cover even on the coldest nights refusing to use the blanket given to him by the order because he believed his suffering was pleasing to God, perhaps even meritorious. He was faithful in his observance of the canonical hours but the reason for his faithfulness stemmed more out of fear than of gratitude. He lived in constant fear of God's judgment. Once in September 1515, he had failed to say the canonical hours for the day because of conflicting responsibilities he had had with the graduation of several doctoral students at Wittenberg. During the night, he was awakened by the sound of an approaching thunder storm and fearing he was about to be punished, remember he had had a bad experience with a previous thunder storm, he got up in the middle of the night and caught up on his prayers.

Later in 1520, his teaching duties forced him to miss the recitation of the hours and he fell behind by a full a full quarter of a year. Luther decided to make the time to catch up by staying awake until he had caught up his prayers. D'Aubigne almost certainly referring to this particular event says that Luther stayed awake once for nearly for seven weeks non-stop trying to catch up on the canonical hours...and that the effort very nearly killed him. Now remember that was in 1520. He had nailed the 95 Theses to the church door at Wittenberg three years earlier in 1517. You can see that Luther's own personal reformation did not occur all at once.

Later, Luther would write:

I was a good monk, and I kept the rule of my order so strictly that I may say that if ever a monk got to heaven by his monkery it was I. All my brothers in the monastery who knew me will bear me out. If I had kept on any longer, I should have killed myself with vigils, prayers, reading, and other work.²¹

But it is at just that point that we must spend time if we want to understand Luther. You see, he was a good monk, a very good monk and yet he was constantly agitated and distressed over whether his righteousness or efforts at righteousness were enough. He longed for peace and assurance and yet the more he did the less certainty he felt. Each action that he took to gain peace or assurance only convinced him or at least caused him to question whether he was adequately fulfilling the obligations he had put upon himself in his vows.

He tormented his confessors, not out of any desire to make their lives miserable but rather out of a desire to adequately confess his sins. He was plagued with doubt and he felt the need to confess his sins fully. He often would leave the confessional and remember something and have to turn around and go back to a bewildered and beleaguered confessor. Once, Luther confessed his sins for six hours. He often confessed his sins every day of the week though it was required only on Fridays.

One confessor grew so tired of Luther's preoccupation with confession that he yelled at him, saying:

Man, God is not angry with you. You are angry with God. Don't you know that God commands you to hope?

Even the prior of the monastery, Von Staupitz had to tell him”

Look here, if you expect Christ to forgive you, come in with something to forgive—parricide, blasphemy, adultery—instead of all these peccadilloes.

But the problem was that Luther had a realistic view of sin and of righteousness. If small sins are as damning as big ones. If a man’s righteous standing was based on his ability to do works of penance and if those works of penance were based on an accurate assessment of one’s sin...then a person needed to get their confession right. But, of course, it was an endless, absolutely endless, exercise in futility. No man could ever remember or even be aware of every single sin he commits and if a sin could not be recalled, it could not be confessed. Later, Luther wrote:

In the papacy, I so tortured and spoiled myself by confessing and making satisfaction that I looked for foreign sin, which I had not committed; because of my remorse I never had any rest nor a clean and peaceful heart. I still cannot get rid of this doctrine. It will harm me as long as I live. I shall not be able entirely to purge my heart of it or to put my heart at rest.²²

But you can see his obsessive awareness of his own shortcomings, of his own sinfulness, in other places as well. I think the very best place to see it is in his emotional response to saying the Mass. Now you remember last week that I told you that his father came to hear him say his first Mass. Part of the reason he did that was because two of Luther’s brothers died of the plague and because he had received a report that Luther himself had died from the plague and when he found out his son had not died, he felt ashamed of the way he had acted and came to grudgingly give Martin his approval.

Anyway, when Luther said his first Mass, he very nearly had a total meltdown. You see the church taught that when a priest consecrated the bread and wine it actually, metaphysically, became the body and blood of Jesus. When Luther consecrated the bread and wine and he believed he was holding the body of the Lord Jesus in his hands. But that was no comfort to him for he believed that the Lord Jesus was the righteous judge and only the righteous judge. When he confronted Christ in the Mass, his sin overwhelmed him. He was terrified by the holiness of Christ. Roland Bainton writes this:

The day began with the chiming of the cloister bells and the chanting of the psalm, **“O sing unto the Lord a new song.”** Luther took his place before the altar and began to recite the introductory portion of the mass until he came to the words, **“We offer unto thee, the living, the true, the eternal God.”** He related afterward:

At these words I was utterly stupefied and terror-stricken. I thought to myself, **“With what tongue shall I address such Majesty, seeing that all men ought to tremble in the presence of even an earthly prince? Who am I, that I should lift up mine eyes or raise my hands to the divine Majesty? The angels surround him. At his nod the earth trembles. And shall I, a miserable little pygmy, say ‘I want this, I ask for that’? For I am dust and ashes and full of sin and I am speaking to the living, eternal and the true God.”**

The terror of the Holy, the horror of Infinitude, smote him like a new lightning bolt, and only through a fearful restraint could he hold himself at the altar to the end.²³

Luther faltered in his speech. He stood and trembled. Afterwards, he was deeply discouraged and sought the comfort he need from his father only to have his father tell him, **“Have you never read where it is written, ‘A man should honor his mother and his father.’”**

Luther began to have doubts not only about his sin but about whether or not he ought even to be in the ministry. He turned to the prior of the monastery Von Staupitz. He sought his comfort. He sought his counsel. Von Staupitz wisely turned him to the mercy of Jesus and to the Bible.

Once sitting at lunch Von Staupitz asked him:

“Why are you so sad, brother Martin?” —

Luther replied:

“Ah!, I do not know what will become of me!” —

Von Stupitz replied:

“O my friend! Why do you torment yourself with all these speculations and these high thoughts?.....Look at the wounds of Jesus Christ, to the blood that he has shed for you: it is there that the grace of God will appear to you. Instead of torturing yourself on account of your sins, throw yourself into the Redeemer’s arms. Trust in him — in the righteousness of his life — in the atonement of his death. Do not shrink back; God is not angry with you, it is you who are angry with God. Listen to the Son of God.

But Luther could not be swayed. He sank deeper and deeper into melancholy. He once failed to come out of his cell for three days and when they broke down the door Luther was incoherent and delusional. He had repented himself almost into madness.

Von Staupitz decided there were only two things that might help Luther. He believed Luther needed to visit Rome and he needed to teach the Bible. He believed that if Luther could take a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Rome and see all of the relics there it might heal his soul. He was wrong about that.

But he also believed that if Luther might begin to teach the Bible, he might gain strength and encouragement from that. He was right...absolutely right about that. We will talk more about both those things next week but let me just relate the conversation between Luther and Von Staupitz when Von Staupitz told him he was going to have to teach the Bible.

“Martin, My friend, you must now become Doctor of the Holy Scriptures.”

Luther shrank at the very thought:

“Seek a more worthy person. As for me, I cannot consent to it.”

Von Staupitz replied:

“Our Lord God has much to do in the Church: he has need at this time of young and vigorous doctors.”

Luther protested:

“But I am weak and sickly. I have not long to live. Look out for some strong man. And there is the issue of my poverty, I have no means of defraying the expenses incidental to such a promotion.” —

Von Staupitz replied:

“Do not be uneasy about that, the prince has done you the favor to take all the charges upon himself.”

Luther sighed:

“It will kill me.”

“That’s alright. The Lord can use a clever young man like you in heaven as well.”

Now I think we will stop right there, right there with Luther in the throes of despondency and depression. Next week we’ll pick up with him going to Rome and teaching Romans. But let me add one final thing before we stop. Later after Luther’s trial at Worms...Prince Frederick the Wise had Luther kidnapped and locked away in seclusion at the Wartburg Castle. He did that in order to save his life. There were a great many people who wanted to kill him. Luther was locked away in almost complete and total isolation for nearly two years. During that time Luther completed his translation of the German Bible. Now let me ask you what was it that prepared Luther for two years of perpetual isolation and loneliness in which he was able to give the German people their most prized possession? What was it? It was the years of preparation in the monastery at Erfurt.

What does that tell you?

I think it tells you that when life is hard...that when you suffer... our Lord Jesus is preparing us to be the kind of people that can accomplish what He wants us to do. That certainly was true for Luther and brothers and sisters I have to tell you...I think it is true for us.

Let’s pray.

¹ Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483-1521*, translated by James L. Schaaf, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 58.

² NIV **Acts 7:22**...Moses was educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and was powerful in speech and action.

³ NIV **Acts 22:3**...I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city. Under Gamaliel I was thoroughly trained in the law of our fathers and was just as zealous for God as any of you are today.

⁴ NIV **Galatians 1:15-18**...But when God, who set me apart from birth and called me by his grace, was pleased ¹⁶ to reveal his Son in me so that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I did not consult any man, ¹⁷ nor did I go up to Jerusalem to see those who were apostles before I was, but I went immediately into Arabia and later returned to Damascus. ¹⁸ Then after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to get acquainted with Peter and stayed with him fifteen days.

⁵ Martin Luther, *What Luther Says Vol. 2*. Compiled by Edwin Plass. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 966. See note number 3039.

⁶ Brecht, 60.

⁷ Alister E. McGrath, *Justitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification...The Beginnings to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; reprinted 1989, 1993, 1994, 1995), 83. "The essential principle encapsulated in the axiom is that man and God have their respective roles to play in justification; when man has fulfilled his part God will subsequently fulfill his part...The medieval period saw this axiom become a dogma, part of the received tradition concerning justification. The final verbal form of the axiom can be shown to have been fixed in the twelfth century, an excellent example being provided by the Homilies of Radulphus Ardens:

Est ergo, acsi dicat Dominus: Facite, quod pertinet ad vos, quia facio, quod pertinet ad inc. Ego facio, quod amicus, animam meam pro vobis ponendo; lacite et vos, quod amid, me diligendo e mandaja inca faciendo.

It may, of course, be pointed out that the logic underlying Radulphus' version of the axiom is that man should do *quod in se est* because Christ has already done *quod in se est*. In other words, Christ has placed man under an obligation to respond to him. The logic was however, generally inverted, to yield the suggestion that God's action was posterior. rather than prior, to man's. The idea that man could, by doing what lies within him (*quod in se est*) place God under an obligation to reward him with grace is particularly well illustrated from the works of Stephen Langton and others influenced by him. The use of *debere* by an anonymous twelfth century writer in this connection is of significance: *si homo facit, quod suum est, Deus debet facere, quod suum est.*"

⁸ Martin Luther, *What Luther Says Vol. 2*. Compiled by Edwin Plass. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 963. See note number 3036. Paraphrased slightly by me.

⁹ J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, *History of the Reformation of the 16th Century*, Book 2, Chapter 3, 193.

¹⁰ D'Aubigne, Book 2, Chapter 3, 193.

¹¹ Brecht, 62.

¹² David Schaaf, *History of Modern Christianity: The Reformation from A.D. 1517 to 1648.*, Chapter 2.21.

¹³ Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), 78.

¹⁴ Brecht, 55.

¹⁵ Brecht, 64.

¹⁶ David Schaaf, *History of Modern Christianity: The Reformation from A.D. 1517 to 1648.*, Chapter 2.21.

¹⁷ James Tolhurst, *A Concise Catechism for Catholics*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1993) 63.

¹⁸ Brecht, 64.

¹⁹ Bainton, 38.

²⁰ Bainton, 45.

²¹ Bainton, 45.

²² Martin Luther, *What Luther Says Vol. 1*. Compiled by Edwin Plass. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 327. See note number 965.

²³ Bainton, 42.